Catalogue no. 75-006-X
ISSN 2291-0840

Insights on Canadian Society

Results from the 2016 Census: Work activity of families with children in Canada

by André Bernard

Release date: May 15, 2018

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Results from the 2016 Census: Work activity of families with children in Canada

by André Bernard

Over the coming months, *Insights on Canadian Society* will release analytical studies based on 2016 Census data. Today's release highlights Census data on work activity.

2016

Overview of the study

This article uses data from the Census of the Population to examine changes between 2005 and 2015 in the work activity patterns of Canadian families with children. Results by education level and by immigration status are discussed, as well as results for lone parent families. The paper also provides an overview of regional differences in the work activity patterns of Canadian families.

- In 2015, 25% of couples with at least one child under the age of 6 and 37% of couples with a youngest child aged 6 to 17 had two parents working full year and full time. These proportions changed little between 2005 and 2015.
- Work activity declined for couples with children where both partners had at most a high school diploma. Among these couples, the proportion with both parents working full year, full time declined, from 29% in 2005 to 23% in 2015. Among couples where both parents had at least a bachelor's degree, the proportion rose slightly, from 34% to 35%.
- In nearly 12% of recent immigrant couples with children, neither parent reported any work activity in 2015. This compared with less than 2% for Canadian-born couples and 4% for non-recent immigrant couples.
- The work activity of single parents declined over the past decade. Among lone mothers with a child under 6, one-third (33%) did not report any work activity in 2015, compared with less than 30% in 2005.
- At the provincial level, the Maritime provinces and Quebec had the highest proportions of couples with both parents working full year, full time, while Alberta and British Columbia had the lowest proportions.

Introduction

Canadian parents participate in the labour market in diverse ways, reflecting family obligations, economic circumstances, work–life balance choices, work opportunities as well as many other factors.

In some families, both parents have permanent full-time jobs. In others, one or both partners may work part time, part of the year, or may not be engaged in paid work. Many benefit from policies and programs, put in place

by governments and employers over the years, to support parents who remain active in the labour market. These include child care subsidies, tax credits and parental leave policies.

Families in which working-age parents have lower work activity levels are at greater risk of falling into low income. In addition, parents' work activity levels can impact the long-term financial well-being of families. For example, job losses or reductions in work hours may limit families' ability to accumulate assets through savings or contributions to a pension plan. Couples can often alter their work arrangements to mitigate the negative impact of changes in individual work hours (whether they are voluntary or not).

The past ten years were marked by significant economic change, which included the 2008/2009 recession, significant fluctuations in commodity prices and resulting impacts on growth patterns in resource-rich provinces, and notable industrial shifts. These changes have asymmetrically impacted regions and different groups of workers and their families, including couples with lower educational attainment and immigrant families.

For example, stronger employment growth in industries such as professional, scientific and technical services, coupled with declining manufacturing employment, had an impact on economic opportunities for less-educated workers. Although Canadian workers are now better-educated than those from previous generations, in 2016, there were still more workers with at most a high school diploma than there were workers with a bachelor's degree or a higher level of education.[1]

At the same time, the proportion of immigrants in the workforce has increased, from 21% in 2006 to 24% in 2016.[2] Immigrant workers are, on average, better-educated than their Canadian-born counterparts. In spite of this, they tend to have less favourable labour market outcomes than Canadian-born workers.[3]

In this context, this article examines changes in the work activity patterns of Canadian families with children between 2005 and 2015, using data from the Census of the Population. It includes detailed information by parents' educational attainment and immigrant status, as well as by province and territory.

Couples with children included in the analysis are those in which each partner is between the ages of 25 and 54, and include opposite-sex as well as same-sex couples. Single parents in the same age group are also considered. Children are referred to as those aged 17 or under; adult children living with their parents are therefore not taken into account.

In the census, respondents were asked to provide the number of weeks they worked in the preceding year. They were also asked whether they worked full time (at least 30 hours) or part time (less than 30 hours) during most of these weeks. Those who worked at least 48 weeks and at least 30 hours during most of these weeks are considered to have worked full year, full time during the reference year (see the *Data sources, methods and definitions section*).

According to this definition, couples with children are classified into six groups:

Couples with two earners

1. Both parents worked full year, full time
2. One parent worked full year, full time, while the other worked part year and/or part time
3. Both parents worked part year and/or part time

Couples with one earner

4. One parent worked full year, full time
5. One parent worked part year and/or part time

Couples with no earner

6. Neither parent reported any work activity.

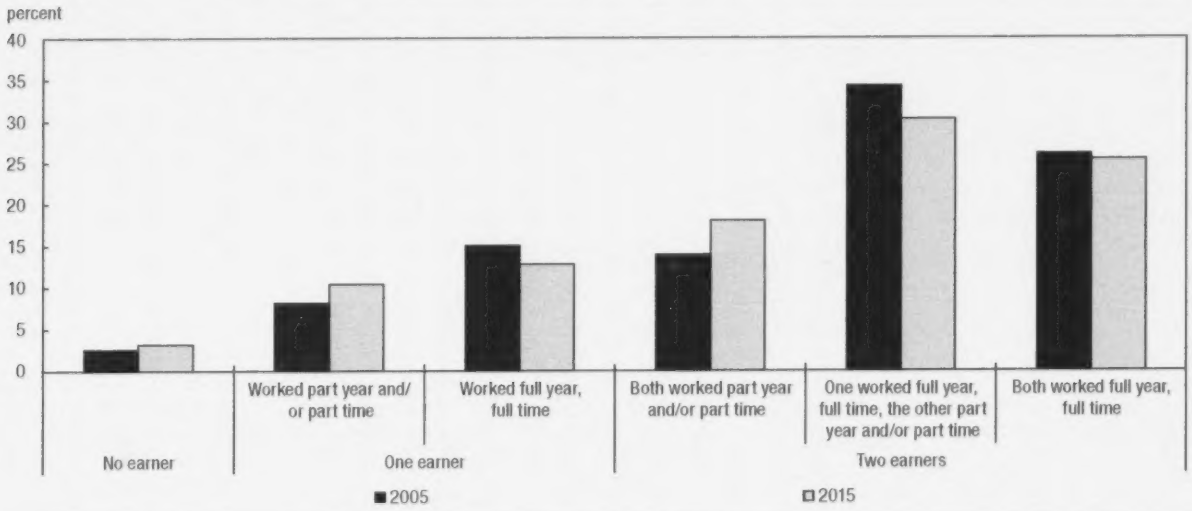
Little variation in the proportion of couples with children with both parents working full year, full time

The percentage of couples with children in which both partners worked full year, full-time changed little in 2015 compared with 2005, and remained lower among couples with younger children.

In 2015, among couples with a child under the age of 6, 25% had two parents working full year and full time, while the same percentage was 37% for couples whose youngest child was between the ages of 6 and 17 (Chart 1 and Chart 2). In comparison, among couples without children, the proportion with both parents working full year, full time was 41%.[4]

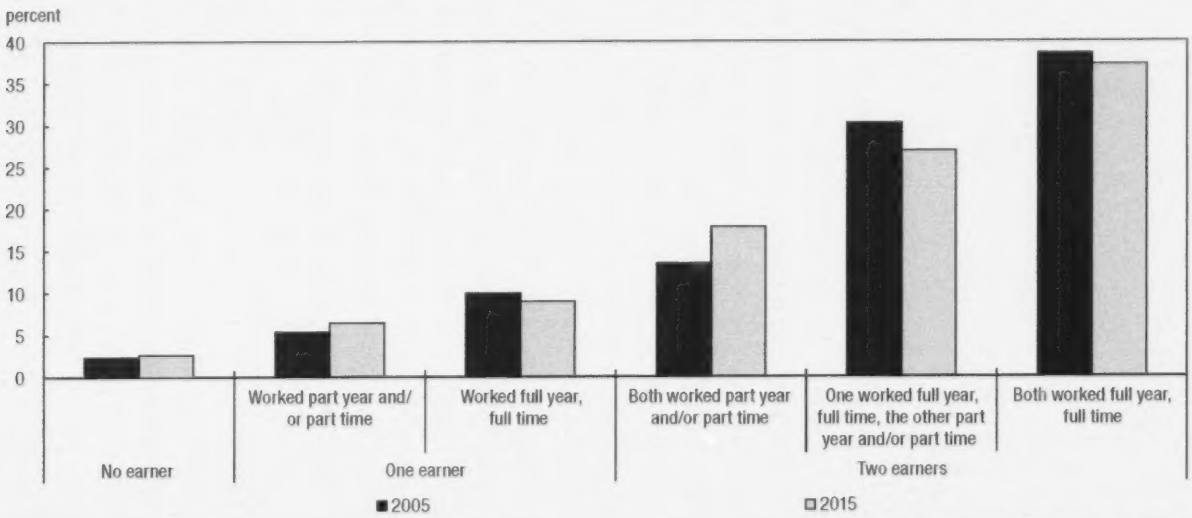
At the same time, compared with a decade earlier, proportionally more couples worked either part year and/or part time in 2015. For example, between 2005 and 2015, the percentage of couples with a child under 6 in which both partners worked part year, and/or

Chart 1
Work activity of couples (aged 25 to 54) whose youngest child was under 6, 2005 and 2015



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006 and 2016.

Chart 2
Work activity of couples (aged 25 to 54) whose youngest child was aged 6 to 17, 2005 and 2015



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006 and 2016.

part time rose from 14% to 18%. The proportion also rose from 14% to 18% for couples whose youngest child was aged 6 to 17.

These changes can be mostly attributed to declines in the work activity of men. In 2015, male partners in couples with children were significantly more likely than they were in 2005 to work either part year or part time. Changes in the work activity levels of women were smaller.[5]

Overall, 74% of couples whose youngest child was under 6 and 82% of couples whose youngest child was aged 6 to 17 were dual-earner couples in 2015, meaning that both parents had worked at some point during the year. The proportions of single-earner and dual-earner couples did not change between 2005 and 2015.

Dual-earner couples became increasingly common in the second part of the last century, when women entered the labour market in record numbers.[6] The share of families with two parents working full year, full time more than doubled between 1980 and 2005, with most of the increase occurring during the 1980s.[7] These shares have since stabilized.

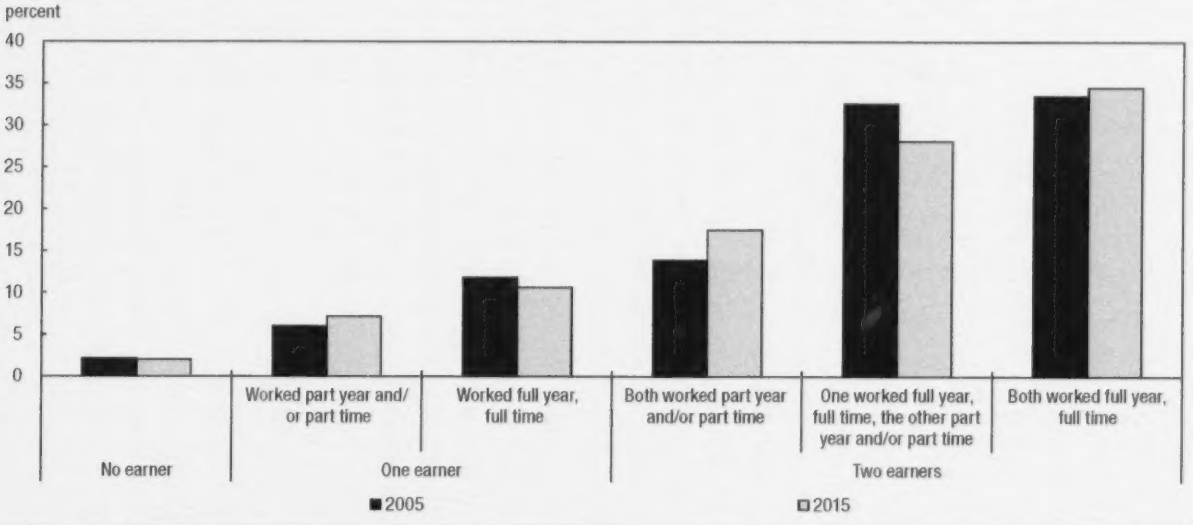
Work activity declined among less-educated families

Higher levels of education are typically associated with more stable employment. According to Labour Force Survey data, employment levels among individuals aged 25 to 54 with a university degree increased significantly between 2015 and 2017 (+365,100). This compared with a small decline (-63,100) among those who had a college diploma or a post-secondary certificate or diploma, and a decline of 106,200 among those with a high school degree or less.[8] Core-working-age people with lower levels of education also experienced the largest employment losses during the 2008/2009 recession.[9] How did economic changes affect the working patterns of families with different levels of education?

Between 2005 and 2015, the gap in work activity levels between highly educated and less-educated couples increased. In 35% of couples where both parents had at least a bachelor's degree,[10] both parents worked full year, full time—up slightly from 2005 (34%). The proportion of dual-earner couples did not change, remaining at 80% (Chart 3).[11]

In contrast, among couples in which both parents had at most a high school diploma, the proportion with

Chart 3
Work activity of couples (aged 25 to 54) with children under 18, both parents had at least a bachelor's degree, 2005 and 2015



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006 and 2016.

both parents working full year, full time declined significantly, from 29% to 23%. The proportion of dual-earner couples also declined, from 71% to 63% (Chart 4).[12]

That being said, the educational attainment of parents increased in the last decade. From 2005 to 2015, the percentage of couples with children in which both parents had a bachelor's degree rose from 18% to 25%. During the same period, the percentage of couples in which both parents had at most a high school education declined from 20% to 15%. The percentage of couples in which both parents have a bachelor's degree has increased every census year at least since 1981.[13]

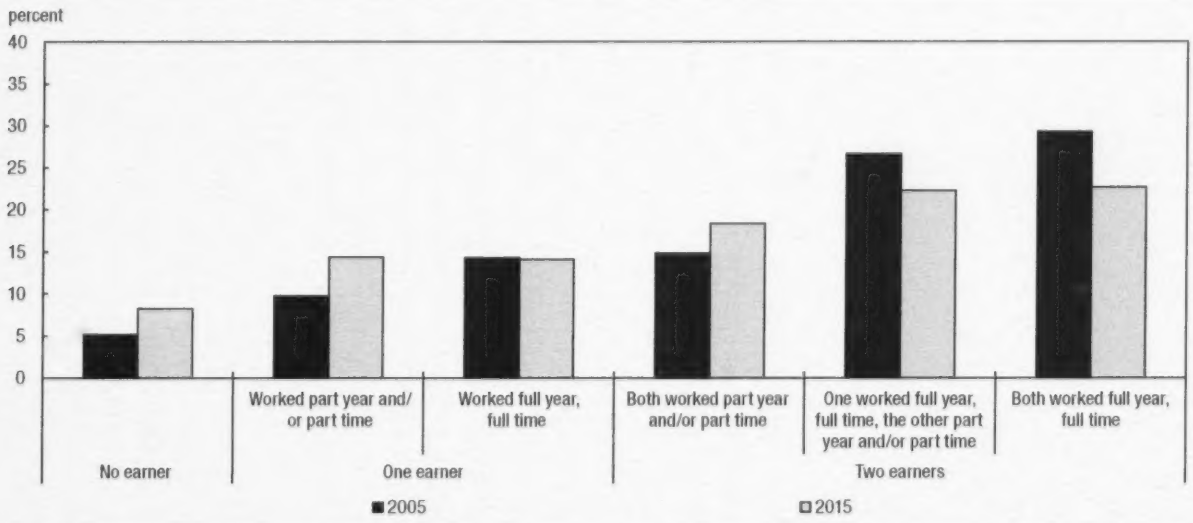
Among recent immigrant couples with children, nearly 12% did not report any work activity in 2015

In 2015 and in 2005, the work activity levels of recent immigrant couples with children, were significantly lower than those of established immigrant and Canadian-born couples. This is consistent with the less favourable labour market outcomes of recent cohorts of immigrants, compared with other workers, documented in previous studies.[14] In the present study, recent immigrant couples are defined as those in which both partners were immigrants who landed in the five years preceding the census reference year.[15]

In 2015, 12% of recent immigrant couples with children both worked full year, full time, one-third the proportion recorded among Canadian-born couples (36%).[16] However, almost as many recent immigrant couples with children reported no work activity from either partner (close to 12%, compared with less than 2% for Canadian-born couples) (Chart 5). The work activity patterns of other immigrant couples with children was closer to that of Canadian-born couples.

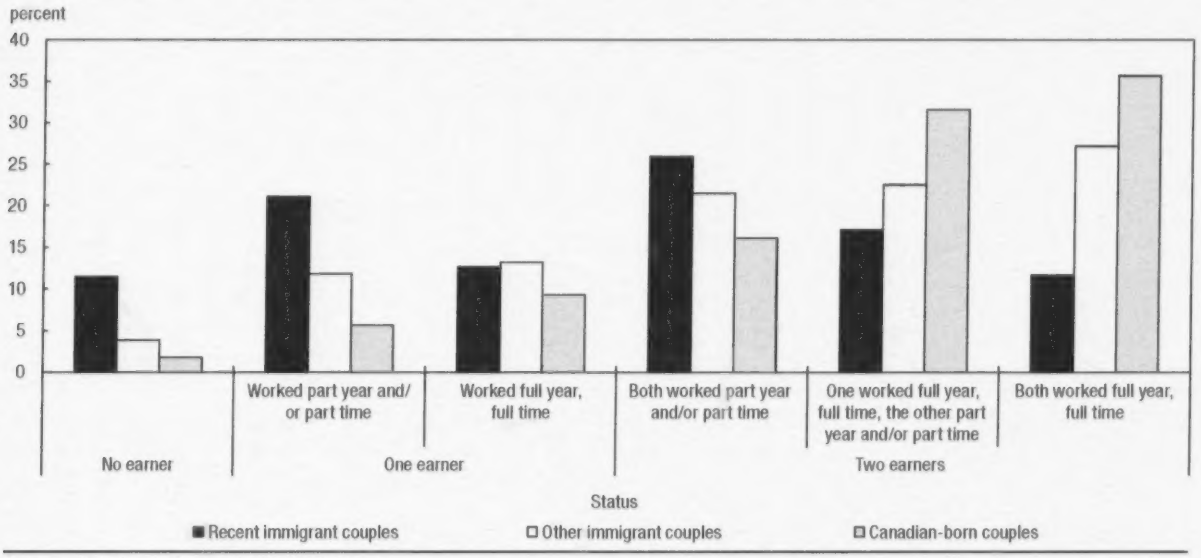
Furthermore, the share of immigrant couples with two parents working full year, full time declined between 2005 and 2015. Among recent immigrant couples, the percentage went from 13% to 12%, while for their established counterparts, it went from 32% to 27%. Among Canadian-born couples with children, the percentage (36%) did not change over the period.

Chart 4
Work activity of couples (aged 25 to 54) with children under 18, both parents had a high school diploma or less, 2005 and 2015



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006 and 2016.

Chart 5
Work activity of couples (aged 25 to 54) with children under 18, by immigrant status, 2015



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

One-third of single mothers with young children had no reported work activity in 2015

Since single parent families represent a growing proportion of families with children, it is important to examine their working patterns. Single mothers with young children also experienced large employment losses during the 2008/2009 recession.[17]

In 2016, there were more than 800,000 single parents aged 25 to 54 living with a child under 18—and the majority (81%) were female. Compared with individuals living in couples, single parents—especially women—were less likely to work and, when they did, it was more often part year and/or part time.

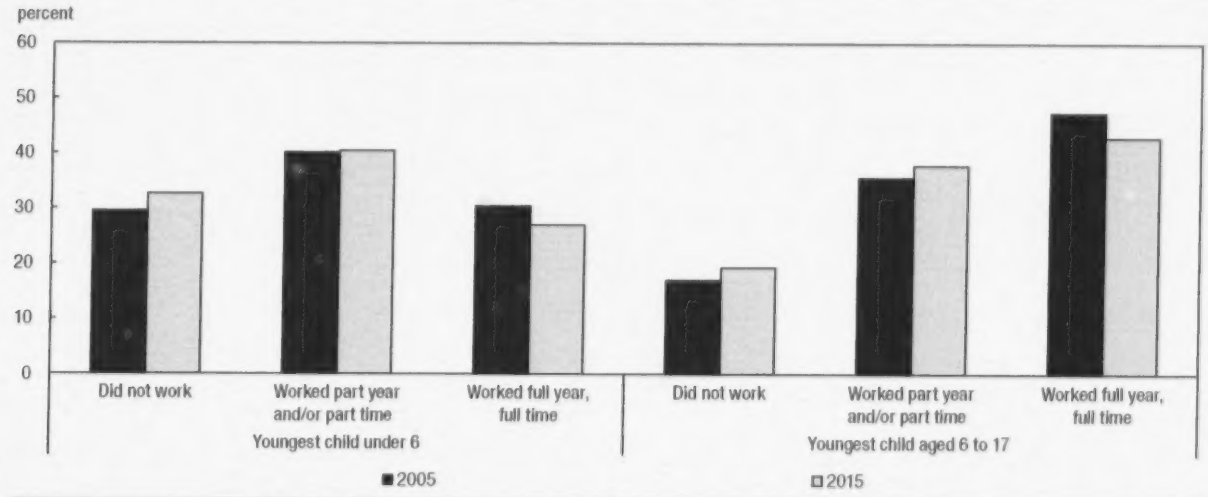
As was the case for immigrants and less-educated couples, there was a significant decrease in the work activity of both single mothers and fathers over the past decade. In 2015, 27% of single mothers with a child under 6 worked full year, full time, down from 30% in 2005 (Chart 6). The proportion of single mothers with an older child who worked full year and full time also declined. In 2015, 43% of single mothers whose youngest child was aged 6 to 17 worked full year, full time, down from 47% in 2005.[18]

At the same time, 33% of single mothers with a child under 6 did not report any work activity during the year, compared with less than 30% a decade earlier.[19] The rate also increased for single mothers whose youngest child was aged 6 to 17, from 17% to 19%. The work activity of single mothers declined in every category of educational attainment between 2005 and 2015, particularly among those with lower levels of educational attainment.[20]

The work activity of single fathers also declined between 2005 and 2015 (Chart 7). The percentage of single fathers working full year, full time fell from 53% to 46% among those with a child under 6 and from 60% to 55% among those with an older child.

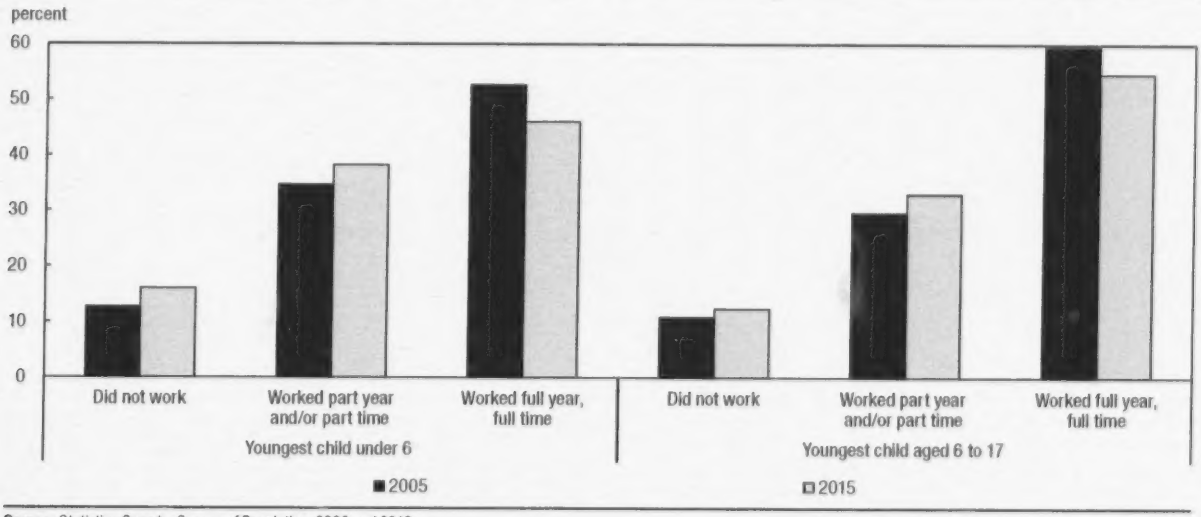
Work activity levels of single fathers, however, continue to be significantly higher than those of their female counterparts. Although families with single fathers are less common than families with single mothers, their proportion has grown since the 1990s.[21]

Chart 6
Work activity of single mothers (aged 25 to 54), 2005 and 2015



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006 and 2016.

Chart 7
Work activity of single fathers (aged 25 to 54), 2005 and 2015



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006 and 2016.

The work activity of parents varies by province or territory

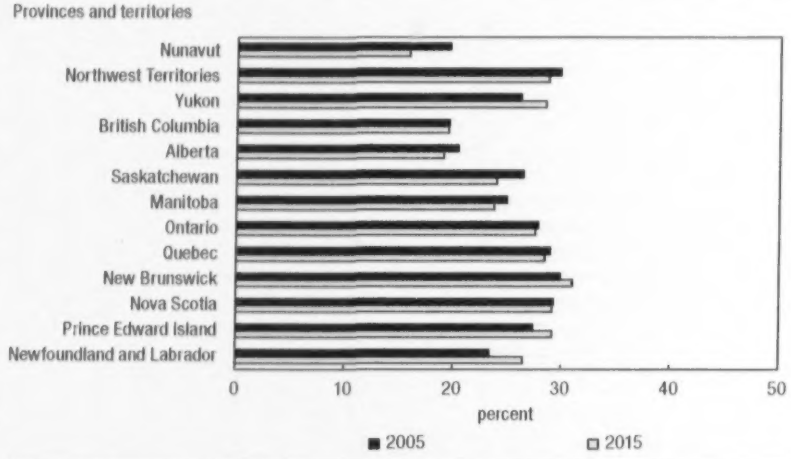
Several factors can play a role in explaining provincial differences in the work activity patterns of couples with children. For example, higher day care costs in some provinces can represent a barrier to full-time permanent employment for parents, especially for women with young children. Provincial differences in labour market conditions and earnings, as well as the gender distribution of household work and demographic characteristics, can also play a role.[22,23]

This section discusses regional differences in the proportion of couples with both parents working full year, full time. Additional information on the provincial and territorial work activity patterns of couples with children in 2005 and 2015 is presented in the *Supplementary information* section.

In 2015, among the provinces, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Quebec had the highest proportions of couples with children in which both parents worked full year, full time, while Alberta and British Columbia had the lowest proportions (Chart 8 and 9). Among the territories, the proportions were higher in the Northwest Territories and lower in Nunavut.

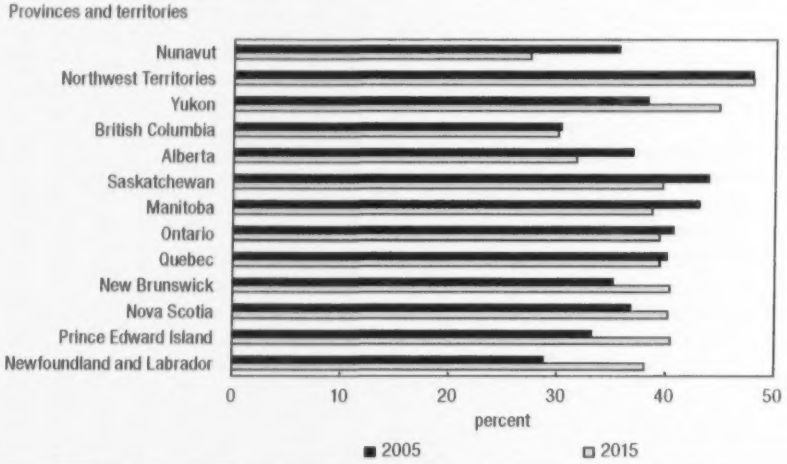
Differences in earnings could explain some of the provincial differences in the way parents allocate their time between work and family. For example, the median employment income of couples in Alberta in which a single earner worked full year, full time was $94,000, the highest amount among the provinces. In

Chart 8
Proportion of couples with both parents working full year and full time, couples (aged 25 to 54) whose youngest child was under 6, provinces and territories, 2005 and 2015



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006 and 2016.

Chart 9
Proportion of couples with both parents working full year and full time, couples (aged 25 to 54) whose youngest child was aged 6 to 17, provinces and territories, 2005 and 2015



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006 and 2016.

Table 1
Median combined employment income (before tax) of couples with children under 18, provinces and territories, 2015

	One earner		Two earners		
	Worked part year and/or part time	Worked full year, full time	Both worked part year and/or part time	One worked full year and full time, the other part year and/or part time	Both worked full year, full time
	thousands of dollars				
Provinces and territories					
Newfoundland and Labrador	70.1	87.5	80.8	102.5	136.6
Prince Edward Island	21.5	57.2	53.0	74.8	108.6
Nova Scotia	32.2	63.2	66.2	83.5	114.9
New Brunswick	30.7	60.7	63.7	81.6	112.3
Quebec	28.1	53.8	74.5	81.2	109.1
Ontario	28.0	69.8	72.1	95.1	129.2
Manitoba	30.0	58.9	67.6	84.6	113.7
Saskatchewan	41.3	74.4	80.0	100.1	125.4
Alberta	57.8	94.0	87.4	112.7	139.6
British Columbia	39.4	74.5	74.3	94.4	121.8
Yukon	65.7	82.0	94.5	116.2	148.4
Northwest Territories	29.0	102.7	107.1	140.7	187.5
Nunavut	17.4	79.2	41.1	111.7	201.4
Canada	**33.2**	**70.4**	**75.1**	**93.2**	**122.7**

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

comparison, the median combined employment income of couples in which both parents worked full year, full time was $108,600 in Prince Edward Island and $109,100 in Quebec (Table 1).

Changes in the last decade in the work activity patterns of Canadian families were not uniform across the country. Generally speaking, the percentages of couples with children in which both parents worked full year, full time increased in Atlantic Canada, decreased in the Prairies, and remained relatively stable in Ontario, in Quebec and in British Columbia. In the territories, the proportion of families who had two parents working full-year and full-time increased in Yukon, remained stable in the Northwest Territories and declined in Nunavut. (The section *Work activity patterns of couples with children by census metropolitan area* provides comparisons by CMA).

Conclusion

This study examined changes between 2005 and 2015 in the work activity patterns of Canadians families with children. Four major findings are highlighted in this study. First, it provides evidence on the extent to which having children, and particularly young children, can affect the work activity patterns of couples. In 2015, 25% of couples with at least one child under 6 had two parents working full year, full time; the proportion was 37% for couple families with older children aged 6 to 17, and 41% for those without children.

Second, while the share of couples with two parents working full year, full time changed little between 2005 and 2015, there was a shift between two types of families: the share of families with only one parent working full year, full time declined, while the share with two parents working part year or part time increased. Most of this shift can be attributed to men, who were less likely to work full year, full time in 2015 than they were in 2005.

Third, there were significant declines between 2005 and 2015 in the work activity levels of certain types of families, including those with lower educational attainment, recent immigrant families and single parent families.

For example, among couples in which both partners had at most a high school diploma, the proportion with both parents working full year, full time declined from 29% to 23%. The proportion also declined for immigrant couples. Both male and female single parents were less likely to work full year, full time in 2015 than in 2005.

These families were also more likely not to report any work activity during the year. In 2015, 8% of couples in which both partners had at most a high school diploma and close to 12% of recent immigrant couples did not report any work activity. Moreover, about one-third of female single parents whose youngest child was under 6 had no reported work activity in 2015.

These changes suggest that these families may have had more difficulty finding a job with stable work hours, possibly as a result of the changes that occurred in the Canadian economy over the period. Families who have difficulty securing a steady stream of earnings may be more at risk of being in low income, and, in the long run, they may have more difficulty accumulating assets through savings or contributions to a pension plan.

Lastly, this study highlights important regional differences in the work activity patterns of families with children. In 2015, among the

provinces, the highest proportions of couples with children in which both partners worked full year, full time were recorded in the Maritime provinces and in Quebec, while the lowest proportions were recorded in Alberta and British Columbia. Possible reasons for such differences include provincial differences in social policy, regional disparities in earnings and the gender distribution of household work, as well as differences in macroeconomic conditions. More research is needed to better understand these regional differences.

***André Bernard** is a principal researcher with the Analytical Studies Branch at Statistics Canada.*

Data sources, methods and definitions

Data sources

The data in this analysis are from the 2016 Census of Population. Further information on the census can be found in the *Guide to the Census of Population, 2016* (http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/ref/98-304/index-eng.cfm), Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-304-X. Specific information on the quality and comparability of census data on labour can be found in the *Labour Reference Guide, Census of Population, 2016* (http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/ref/guides/012/98-500-x2016012-eng.cfm), Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-500-X.

Methods

Random rounding and percentage distributions: To ensure the confidentiality of responses collected for the 2016 Census, a random rounding process is used to alter the values reported in individual cells. As a result, when these data are summed or grouped, the total value may not match the sum of the individual values since the total and subtotals are independently rounded. Similarly, percentage distributions, which are calculated on rounded data, may not necessarily add up to 100%. Because of random rounding, counts and percentages may vary slightly between different census products, such as the analytical documents, highlight tables and data tables.

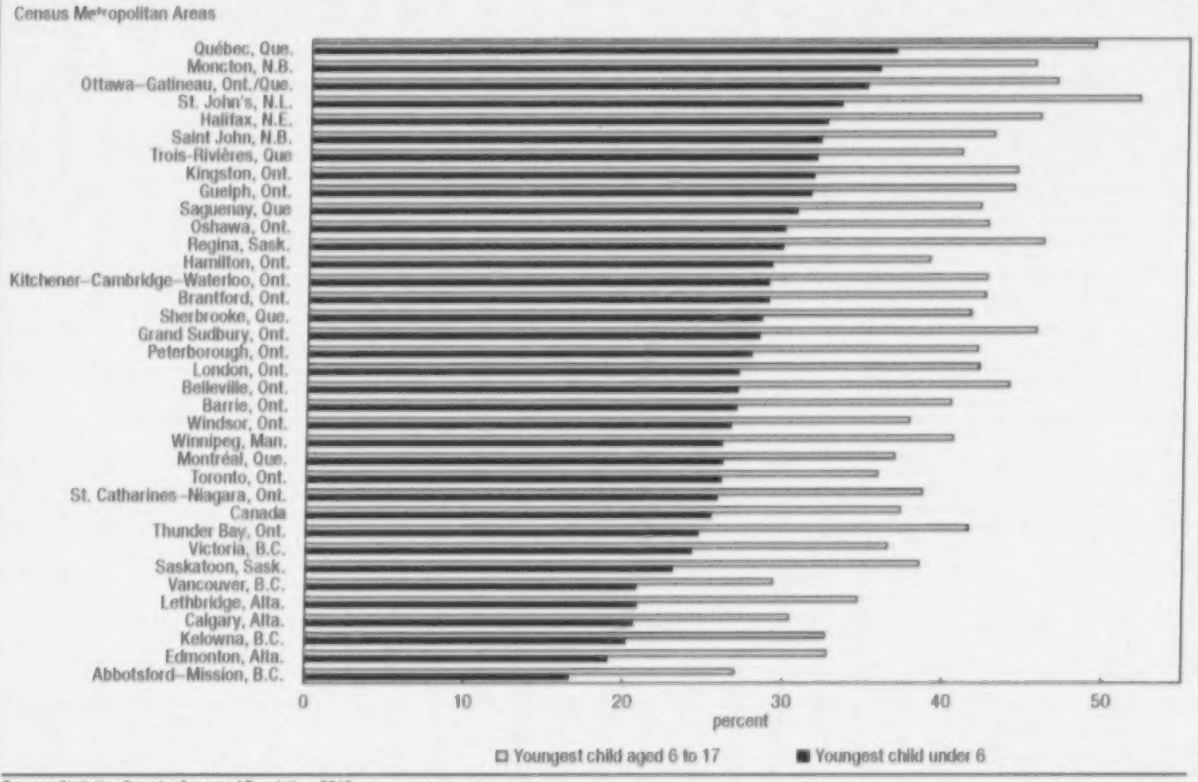
Definitions

Individuals who worked **full year, full time** are those who, during the reference year, worked at least 48 weeks and worked 30 hours or more for most of those weeks. Individuals who worked **part year and/or part time** are those who, during the reference year, worked between 1 and 47 weeks, and/or who worked less than 30 hours for most of their weeks worked. Please refer to the *Dictionary, Census of Population, 2016* (http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/ref/dict/index-eng.cfm), Catalogue no. 98-301-X, for additional information on the census variables.

Work activity patterns of couples with children by census metropolitan area

Provincial differences in the work activity patterns of families were reflected in the comparison by census metropolitan area (CMA). The top 10 CMAs with the highest proportions of couples with young children with both parents working full year, full time are located in Atlantic Canada, Quebec and Ontario. In contrast, the eight CMAs with the lowest proportions are in British Columbia and the Prairies (Chart 10).

Chart 10
Proportion of couples with both parents working full year and full time, couples (aged 25 to 54) with children under 18, by census metropolitan area, 2015



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016.

Supplementary information

Table A1
Work activity of couples whose youngest child was under 6, provinces and territories, 2005 and 2015

		One earner		Two earners		
	No earner	Worked part year and/or part time	Worked full year, full time	Both worked part year and/or part time	One worked full year, full time, the other part year and/or part time	Both worked full year, full time
	percent					
2015						
Newfoundland and Labrador	2.4	11.1	9.6	20.4	30.1	26.5
Prince Edward Island	3.1	5.0	7.0	20.7	35.1	29.1
Nova Scotia	2.8	8.3	11.0	16.2	32.5	29.2
New Brunswick	3.6	7.5	10.7	15.2	32.0	31.0
Quebec	3.2	9.9	8.6	22.4	27.5	28.4
Ontario	3.7	10.1	13.7	14.6	30.4	27.5
Manitoba	4.1	10.3	14.1	16.0	31.7	23.8
Saskatchewan	3.3	9.8	12.0	17.9	33.1	24.0
Alberta	2.1	12.2	16.8	18.4	31.5	19.0
British Columbia	2.9	11.4	14.5	20.1	31.7	19.5
Yukon	0.7	8.0	7.3	22.6	32.8	28.5
Northwest Territories	1.7	7.8	11.4	18.7	31.5	28.7
Nunavut	9.0	19.0	12.4	20.1	23.2	15.8
Canada	**3.2**	**10.4**	**12.8**	**18.0**	**30.2**	**25.4**
2005						
Newfoundland and Labrador	3.8	10.1	8.1	21.9	32.8	23.4
Prince Edward Island	1.6	4.6	9.2	19.9	37.5	27.4
Nova Scotia	1.6	7.0	12.8	13.9	35.5	29.2
New Brunswick	2.3	6.2	11.5	14.3	35.7	29.9
Quebec	3.5	8.4	12.5	15.7	31.1	28.9
Ontario	2.3	7.8	16.2	12.0	33.8	27.8
Manitoba	3.4	6.7	15.1	11.9	38.0	24.9
Saskatchewan	2.8	7.0	11.7	13.4	38.7	26.4
Alberta	1.6	8.3	18.1	14.1	37.5	20.4
British Columbia	2.4	9.5	15.8	16.7	36.2	19.6
Yukon	0.0	3.0	15.6	16.6	38.7	26.1
Northwest Territories	1.1	8.1	13.9	12.0	35.4	29.8
Nunavut	6.0	14.5	14.2	18.6	26.8	19.6
Canada	**2.6**	**8.1**	**15.0**	**14.0**	**34.3**	**26.1**

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006 and 2016.

Table A2
Work activity of couples whose youngest child was between 6 and 17, provinces and territories, 2005 and 2015

		One earner		Two earners		
	No earner	Worked part year and/ or part time	Worked full year, full time	Both worked part year and/ or part time	One worked full year, full time, the other part year and/ or part time	Both worked full year, full time
			percent			
2015						
Newfoundland and Labrador	2.1	7.2	7.4	18.7	26.6	38.1
Prince Edward Island	2.3	4.7	5.9	15.9	30.6	40.5
Nova Scotia	2.1	6.0	8.8	13.9	29.0	40.2
New Brunswick	2.5	6.1	7.7	15.1	28.2	40.4
Quebec	2.3	5.5	6.4	21.1	25.1	39.4
Ontario	3.0	6.4	10.2	14.9	26.1	39.4
Manitoba	2.9	5.2	8.1	16.6	28.4	38.7
Saskatchewan	2.7	5.3	7.1	16.9	28.4	39.7
Alberta	1.7	7.0	10.0	19.8	29.8	31.7
British Columbia	3.0	8.0	9.4	21.5	28.1	30.0
Yukon	0.0	4.1	3.7	17.3	30.5	44.9
Northwest Territories	2.2	5.1	7.3	14.3	23.5	47.9
Nunavut	4.7	12.9	11.7	18.4	24.2	27.3
Canada	**2.6**	**6.4**	**9.0**	**17.8**	**26.9**	**37.3**
2005						
Newfoundland and Labrador	4.2	8.7	7.0	23.5	27.9	28.8
Prince Edward Island	1.6	3.4	5.4	17.3	39.0	33.2
Nova Scotia	2.0	6.1	10.6	12.6	31.9	36.8
New Brunswick	2.4	5.8	8.9	15.2	32.6	35.1
Quebec	2.4	5.7	10.1	14.3	27.4	40.1
Ontario	2.3	5.1	10.6	11.7	29.5	40.7
Manitoba	2.2	4.0	8.1	10.6	32.2	43.0
Saskatchewan	1.9	3.4	6.6	11.5	32.7	43.9
Alberta	1.3	4.3	9.4	14.0	34.0	36.9
British Columbia	3.1	6.7	10.1	17.3	32.6	30.2
Yukon	2.1	4.5	3.1	17.7	35.1	38.2
Northwest Territories	1.0	5.0	7.7	11.2	27.4	47.9
Nunavut	3.5	7.0	11.0	14.5	28.1	35.5
Canada	**2.3**	**5.4**	**10.0**	**13.5**	**30.2**	**38.6**

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006 and 2016.

Notes

1. See Statistics Canada (2017a).
2. See Statistics Canada (2017b).
3. Hou and Picot (2014).
4. Some of the difference between couples with children under 6 and other couples could be attributed to parental leave. In the census, respondents are asked to provide the number of weeks they work, including the weeks they were on vacation or sick leave with pay, without explicitly mentioning weeks spent on parental leave. For the most part, however, maternity or paternity leave would mainly affect those with children aged 12 months or under.
5. These trends were not limited to couples. From 2005 to 2015, the proportion of all men aged 25 to 54 who worked full year, full time decreased from 63% to 56%, reaching its lowest level since 1980. Among women, the proportion also decreased, from 46% to 44%. See Statistics Canada (2017b) for additional details on changes in the work activity of Canadians between 2005 and 2015.
6. See Statistics Canada (2015); Uppal (2015).
7. See LaRochelle-Côté et al. (2009).
8. See CANSIM Table no 282-0004.
9. See LaRochelle-Côté and Gilmore (2010).
10. In this study, persons with a bachelor's degree refer to those who had a bachelor's degree or a higher level of education.
11. With respect to the results by educational attainment and by immigrant status, couples whose youngest child was under 6 and those with a younger child between 6 and 17 are combined. Trends between 2005 and 2015 by educational attainment and by immigrant status for couples with young and older children are similar.
12. A decline in the proportion of dual-earner couples and in the proportion of couples with two parents working full year, full time was also observed for couples in which the most educated partner had a postsecondary diploma below a bachelor's degree. The declines, however, were less pronounced than among couples in which both partners had at most a high school diploma.
13. See Morissette and Johnson (2004).
14. See, for example, Hou and Picot (2014), and Picot and Sweetman (2005).
15. Established immigrant couples are defined as those in which both partners were immigrants who landed more than five years before the census reference year, while Canadian-born couples are those in which both partners were born in the country.
16. A recent study shows that a sizable proportion of the difference in labour market participation between immigrant and Canadian-born wives between 2006 and 2014 is related to source-country effects, as measured by source-country female-to-male labour market participation ratios (Morissette and Galarneau 2016).
17. See LaRochelle-Côté and Gilmore (2010).
18. Younger single mothers were less likely to work than older ones, but one explanation may be that younger mothers are more likely to attend school. Among young single mothers aged 25 to 34 with a child under 6 who did not work in 2015, about 25% were enrolled in school.
19. Work activity levels of men and women living alone were significantly higher than those of lone fathers and lone mothers. For example, in 2015, about 50% of core-age women living alone worked full year, full time.
20. In 2015, nearly half (47%) of single mothers with at most a high school diploma and a youngest child under 6 had no reported work activity during the year, up from 41% ten years earlier.
21. See Bohnert et al. (2014).
22. See Houle et al. (2017) for an analysis of the participation of mothers and fathers in household work using Statistics Canada's General Social Survey.
23. See Heisz and LaRochelle-Côté (2007) for a detailed analysis of regional differences in work hours.

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